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Singing as English Protestants: *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*' Theology of Music

Cover Page Footnote

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Singing as English Protestants

The Whole Booke of Psalmes' Theology of Music

Samantha Arten

Several of the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformations defined themselves in part by their particular styles of congregational singing. Lutheran hymnals and Calvinist psalters allowed the distribution of denominationally distinctive musical and textual content that helped teach theology, shape and reinforce confessional identities, and enable worship and devotional practices. In song, the laity would (consciously or not) absorb the tenets of their new Protestant faith. The most straightforward way for a collection of music intended as congregational song to become authorized and popularized within its reformed tradition was the advocacy of a prominent reformer, particularly if such advocacy for certain forms of sacred music generally—and *this* music in particular—was included as a preface within the work itself. Lutheran hymnals often included prefaces by Martin Luther, and the Geneva Psalter was printed with an epistle by John Calvin. These letters to the reader offered the opportunity for the reformers to share their understanding of the purpose and right use of music in Christian devotion, and to advocate for their own theologically informed ideology of music.

The challenge was greater in England than on the Continent. While Tudor England had prominent reformers, the most important of whom was Thomas Cranmer, no single key figure guided the musical reforms associated with its Reformation, and thus books of congregational song were unable to frame their musical contents with authoritative instructions regarding

music. Music historians are fond of quoting Cranmer's recommendation "for every syllable a note," which dictates syllabic rather than melismatic text setting for sacred music:

but in mine opinion, the song that shall be made thereunto would not be full of notes, but, as near as may be, for every syllable a note; so that it may be sung distinctly and devoutly, as be in the Matins and Evensong, Venite, the Hymns, Te Deum, Benedictus, Magnificat, Nunc dimittis, and all the Psalms and Versicles; and in the mass Gloria in Excelsis, Gloria Patri, the Creed, the Preface, the Pater noster, and some of the Sanctus and Agnus.¹

However, this advice referred to adaptations of Latin chant for the new English service and was not intended as a guide to either congregational or choral music. As Robin Leaver has pointed out, Cranmer, unlike Luther and Calvin, did not develop and promote an extensive theological understanding of music centered on the congregation. In fact, Cranmer's liturgical reforms (the 1549 and 1552 Books of Common Prayer) made no explicit provision for congregational singing.² More important for our purposes, this passage appeared in a private letter to King Henry VIII, not in public and certainly not in print. Beyond this single letter, Cranmer was not overly concerned with English musical reform.

Yet even without a prefatory letter from a prominent reformer, John Day's *Whole Booke of Psalmes*, first published in 1562, somehow managed to popularize a new

genre of metrical psalmody as the normative form of congregational song in Elizabethan England. Despite its title, the *WBP* was not merely a psalter but contained a variety of other texts that expanded its possible uses in liturgy and private devotion. In addition to metrical versions of all 150 psalms, it contained twenty-one hymns and canticles, as well as two prefatory essays (one introductory music theory treatise and one English translation of a letter by the fourth-century church father Athanasius of Alexandria) and a set of closing prayers.³

The influence of the *WBP* and its position among the primary religious publications of the sixteenth-century Church of England cannot be overstated. Most other English hymnals and metrical psalters published in the sixteenth century appeared in only one edition. In contrast, the *WBP* was reissued nearly every year, often in multiple editions. There are fully 143 extant editions of the *WBP* published between 1562 and 1603, and it is certain that many more did not survive. Even estimating a conservative print run of only 1,500 copies per edition, there could have been about 220,000 copies in circulation by 1603, and there were perhaps a million copies produced by 1640.⁴ Rapidly and enthusiastically adopted by the English people for both public worship and private devotion, the *WBP* proved to be a critical means of teaching and enabling Church of England practice and belief. By the end of the sixteenth century, the book had become a symbol of English Protestantism, along with English Bibles, Books of Common Prayer, and official Books of Homilies mandated for use in parish churches.

The congregational hymnal derived its apparent religious authority from the church and from the state. Its publisher,

John Day, made a multifaceted effort to establish the *WBP* as an authoritative Protestant text through appeals to scripture, scholarship, the ancient church, and the state. Advertising rigorous scholarship and translational accuracy, the *WBP* set itself up as in opposition to the extrabiblical innovations the reformers identified in Roman Catholicism, presenting itself as a return to the purity and truth of the ancient church. Furthermore, without any official monarchical or ecclesiastical authorization of metrical psalmody for use in church, Day positioned the *WBP* as authorized through reference to the 1559 Royal Injunctions and by advertising Day's psalter patent, granted by Queen Elizabeth herself. In doing so, he aligned the book firmly with the English crown and the Church of England, whose religious practices were tightly regulated. Day therefore attempted to position his *WBP* as an invaluable resource for the English laity, an authorized publication that met with Elizabeth's approval, and an authoritative Protestant text that stood with the Church of England and was appropriate for its services. It is worth noting that while Day's presentation of the *WBP* as authorized by Queen Elizabeth was disingenuous at best, it was ultimately tacitly approved by the queen in Day's second monarchical privilege for the printing of metrical psalters.⁵ Between its self-presentation and its widespread popularity, the *WBP* became the most visible symbol of English Protestant music making, and was directly responsible for the formation of the Church of England's culture of congregational and devotional hymn and psalm singing. Through its popular use, the hymnal promoted a particular theology of music within sixteenth-century English Protestantism.

Luther's and Calvin's own theologies of music differed greatly, including contrasting arguments regarding the nature of texts allowed to be used for liturgical music and the appropriateness of instrumental accompaniment.⁶ In Reformation England, multiple and often conflicting theologically informed philosophies of music circulated, including fierce debates regarding the place of organs in churches, debates that often led to widespread destruction of these expensive instruments. Yet in the absence of a single prominent musical reformer, there was no complete, worked-out theology of music in the sixteenth-century Church of England. Without writings akin to those of Luther and Calvin to turn to, scholars are forced to rely on a wide variety of primary sources (usually the writings of often minor English reformers in published works, sermons, and letters), which are by no means cohesive or consistent and which do not represent a single preeminent theological understanding of music guiding the Church of England or promoted by it. Book V of Richard Hooker's *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie* contained an extended defense of music—and particularly church music—from a theological standpoint, but this text was not published until 1597, long after Henry's break with Rome. The major overviews of English Reformation-era sacred music—Peter le Huray's *Music and the Reformation in England*, Edmund H. Fellowes's *English Cathedral Music*, and Nicholas Temperley's *Music of the English Parish Church*—do not engage with theology to any great extent, taking instead liturgical reform as the background for their studies of musical shifts and genres.⁷ Discussions of English Reformation theology as it relates to music can be found if you look, particularly in John Stevens's excellent explication

of the changes in musical sensibilities due to reformers' "intense concern with words"—Stevens shows how the Protestant emphasis on words and understanding them had profound effects on musical performance and composition, including monophony, syllabic treatment of text, simplified melodies and rhythms, "sober," "modest," and "distinct" performance without ornamentation, and affective text setting designed to represent the meaning of the words.⁸ Similar discussions can also be found outside musicology in work by scholars of religious studies, theology, and history.⁹

The typical pattern of musicological scholarship examines how liturgical reform (as seen in the Book of Common Prayer, cathedral and royal injunctions, and, of course, Cranmer's letter) influenced musical changes. Indeed, the lack of a formal and single source for a widespread and authoritative theology of music in the English Reformation helps explain the level of scholarly attention to Cranmer's admittedly limited letter advising "for every syllable a note." The more complete analytical sequence, however, examines how shifts in theological commitment informed those liturgical changes. Since English reformers were primarily concerned with liturgical reform, using liturgy as the full expression and practice of this new denomination, the liturgy and its associated texts are among the best places to look for the expression of their theology. It is my intention with this article to suggest that the congregational hymnal widely used in the Church of England provides a fruitful avenue by which to examine a theological account of music as it was presented to the people in a period that had little formal musical guidance from religious officials. The *WBP* is a

hitherto unexamined source in our scholarly understanding of theological commitments regarding music in the English Reformation, I suspect because the book itself is a musical work and thus considered in the third part of the sequence (musical changes) and not the first (theological shifts). The psalter answers questions such as: What is music? What is it for? How should it be written and performed? What—and where—is music's proper place in worship? How did this hymnal reflect and guide confessional identity and musical reform? According to the *WBP*, what did it mean to sing like an English Protestant?

In this article I will analyze the theological account of music as presented by Day's first edition of the *WBP* (1562), closely reading its psalm versifications and paratext in order to consider questions of participation, accessibility, text selection, aesthetics, and instrumentation.¹⁰ In doing so, I expand our understanding of the varied Protestant theologies of music to include study of the metrical psalter that functioned as propaganda, educational material, and a devotional tool for the Church of England. According to the *WBP*, singing like a Protestant in Elizabeth's England meant singing monophonic congregational hymnody using metricized texts from scripture and the Book of Common Prayer, and especially from the Book of Psalms (itself a celebration of worship through music). The *WBP* falls on the pro-organ side of the English debate, taking a definitive stand in support of the use of instruments in church, and the psalter places strong emphasis on the attitude of the individual even as it advocates for singing in community. Unexpectedly for a psalter modeled after the Geneva Psalter and published under the Tudor regime that banned the only English

hymnal containing Lutheran-style hymns, the *WBP* promotes an English theology of music that draws upon both Lutheran and Calvinist commitments.

Versification as Interpretation

Translators of scripture are forced to navigate the conflicting impulses of fidelity to the original text, the ideological impulses of the translator, and the transmission of the scripture to its audience in a way that allows meaningful engagement with its contents. Translation is by definition interpretation. The process of versifying prose into poetic form—as we will see, the *WBP* was largely adapted from Miles Coverdale's prose psalter—introduces additional challenges. Poetry that is rhymed and metrical is highly restrictive, and word choice may prioritize the demands of the form over precision of the translation. In the case of the *WBP*, most of its psalms were versified into common meter, often called "Sternhold's meter": paired "fourteeners" made up of two lines of eight and six syllables, with end rhymes. Due to the limitations imposed by its short phrases and frequent rhymes, this style has often been dismissed as bad poetry. John Wesley, for example, wrote of "the miserable, scandalous doggerel of Hopkins and Sternhold."¹¹ The *WBP* was not a sophisticated poetic version of the Book of Psalms like that of Mary Sidney; however, its enthusiastic adoption by the general populace may have been because of, rather than in spite of, this fact. Its poetry is accessible, easy to read and understand, and its message is straightforward.

Part of this message is a clear and deliberate articulation of musical aspects of Protestant devotion. The psalms of the *WBP* were not newly composed texts. As

versifications of English translations, they created the opportunity to adapt these biblical texts for particular purposes. Just as the Geneva Psalter helped create a Calvinist confessional identity both as a material artifact (a congregational songbook that became a marker of Calvinist practice) and through its textual content (its words helping define a particularly Calvinist understanding of the Bible), so the *WBP* helped construct English Protestantism as it played out in Church of England churches and in English homes. Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, William Whittingham, and the other poets who contributed psalms

to the *WBP* adapted Miles Coverdale's existing English translation of the Book of Psalms, found in the 1535 Coverdale Bible (as well as Coverdale's subsequent revision for the 1539 Great Bible; Coverdale's "Parallel Psalter" of 1540, which adapted the Coverdale Bible's psalter to align more closely with the Vulgate for the benefit of the laity as the psalms were read in Latin in church services; Coverdale's 1535 published translation of Jan van Campen's psalm paraphrases; and the Vulgate).¹² Thus their work emerged directly out of an existing and official English Protestant text. The first Book of Common Prayer (1549)

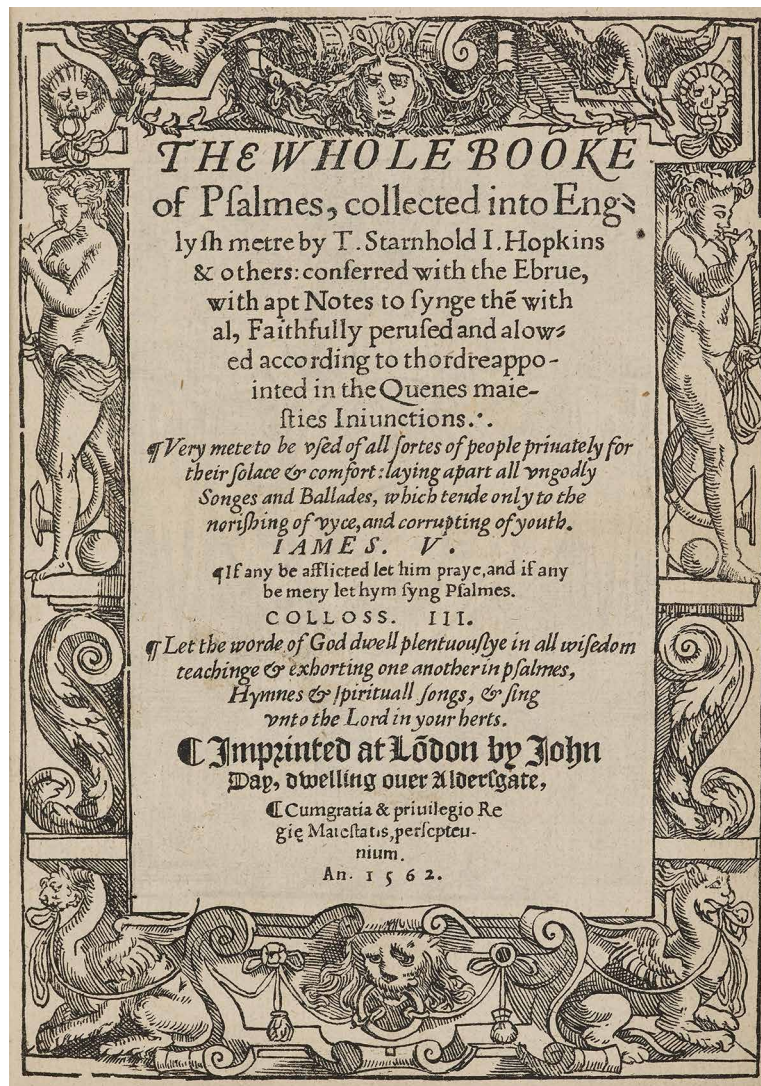


Figure 1: Title Page of the 1562 WBP, photograph © British Library Board, C.25.g.3., sig. +.1.r.

prescribed Coverdale's prose psalms as part of the Church of England's liturgy, making them a central component of English Protestant religious practice. Although John Day (who chose and commissioned the psalms included in his final version of the complete psalter) and the versifiers were limited by their source material—the psalms themselves and Coverdale's English translation—they nevertheless found ways to convey their own interpretation.

“All sortes of people”: The Songs of a Christian Community

According to the Book of Psalms, faith in God is marked by praise of God in thanksgiving for God's actions. For Christians, the psalms demonstrate the belief that proper piety includes this praise both in speech and in song. For reformers, the psalter was caught up in broader statements about what it meant to be Protestant. Roman Catholics sang psalms, but in Latin rather than the vernacular, and in Catholic liturgy, psalms were sung by priests and choir rather than by congregation. Protestants saw these practices as creating two barriers to access for the ordinary churchgoer, who neither understood the language in which the psalms were sung nor sang themselves. Being Protestant meant singing in praise of God as a community, and the *WBP*, which included much more reference to music and musical performance in its psalm versifications than the official liturgical Coverdale Psalter, reflects this Protestant ideology more thoroughly.

The *WBP* makes a powerful statement about who is able to sing. This begins with its title page (see Fig. 1), which is clear about its intended audience: “all sortes of people” can use this book.¹³ Sixteenth-century title pages sought to define their customers,

thereby implying something about intended readership, central readership, and even excluded readership. Social status, level of education, and gender could be (and often were) strongly suggested by sixteenth-century English printed title pages. The act of suggesting the ideal reader also included demonstrating who the audience was *not* in order to persuade the proper audience to become purchasers of the book. A title page in Latin, for example, might indicate the exclusion of those who read only English, and signaled a higher level of scholarship in the hopes of attracting the more literate.¹⁴ The *WBP*, on the other hand, does not exclude anyone from its readership. It is “Very mete to be vsed of all sortes of people” and for “any [who] be afflicted,” for the benefit of themselves and “one another.” The *WBP* was meant to appeal to all churchgoing English Christians across the bounds of their particular religious affiliations. English Reformation scholars have identified several distinct groups: moderate “parish Anglicans,” “prayer book Protestants” who developed affection for the Church of England, the “hotter sort” (Puritans who differed from more moderate Protestants in temperature rather than degree), and even “church papists,” those Catholics who obediently appeared in the compulsory Sunday services of the Church of England.¹⁵ The title page does not limit its desired readership to a particular age range, even promoting its psalms as advantageous for easily corruptible youth.

The title of the preface that follows reinforces this open readership by announcing that this “Shorte Introduction into the Science of Musicke” (and by extension, as this is the first page of the book, the entire contents) is “made for such as are desirous to haue the knowledge

therof, for the singing of these Psalmes.” In other words, this psalter is for anyone who wants to sing psalms. The implications are further: everyone can sing, and psalms are designed to be sung, not merely read. The opening lines of the preface place the emphasis on a certain subset of reader who wishes to sing psalms: “the rude & ignorant in Song.” Although this designation may seem somewhat discourteous today, these terms were customary and inoffensive descriptors for the common people at the time. This address to “the rude & ignorant” provides an early indicator of a crucial shift in the history of the printed book in England. In the late sixteenth century and into the seventeenth, reading and book ownership in England were becoming increasingly available to a broader audience beyond the gentry and clergy (the “gentle” or “learned” readers). In many letters to the reader, this wider audience was named the “great Variety” of readers, encompassing gentry and common reader alike. Book prefaces began addressing “vulgar” readers directly and framing their contents as suitable for all social classes in an attempt to capitalize on the growing market for books. Yet even as the authors of letters to these readers acknowledged this expanding audience, they did not always speak of it positively, and were often rather dismissive or critical of rudimentary readers’ ability to fully engage with their book.¹⁶ The *WBP*, published in 1562, was already attempting to engage a broad audience of all literate readers, not just learned elite. Unusual in its early date for this explicitly common audience, the music preface also refrained from criticizing its readers’ reading ability, promoting itself as an introductory aid intended to assist untrained readers to master its contents.¹⁷

All of this is completely in keeping with Protestant thought, which sought to minimize the gap between laity and clergy. The English Reformation in particular was characterized by a unity that was both ideological and enforced. Unlike its continental counterparts, English Protestantism was not marked by multiple liturgical options, several endorsed and competing Bible translations, or Protestant splinter groups. The Book of Common Prayer demanded liturgical and theological unity across the Church of England. Similarly, the English monarch in his/her role as “supreme head” (later, “supreme governor”) of the Church of England authorized official Books of Homilies and English translations of the Bible. The immense popularity of the *WBP* makes it another key source in understanding how Protestantism was promulgated and received. Certainly John Day would have been delighted for financial reasons when his psalter became the standard metrical psalter for Elizabethan England, both in terms of the psalter privilege, which restricted the publication of metrical psalmody to John Day, and its widespread popularity. No doubt both he and the religious authorities who were carefully crafting this united front for the Church of England were glad to have only a single metrical version of the psalms in wide circulation, one that enabled and encouraged all English people to sing a uniform set of psalms.¹⁸ Thus the *WBP* promotes singing as an essential part of an inclusive Christian community, advancing the idea that English Protestantism is—or should be—marked by communal praise of God. All true believers are exhorted to sing together.

The psalter itself enables this through its inclusion of simple melodies intended as music to be sung by the general populace. These tunes were monophonic (a single musical line sung by the community in unison or in octaves), syllabic, and unaccompanied (although the lack of formal accompaniment does not prove that congregations did not use organs as an aid in learning and singing these melodies; I will return to the question of instrumental accompaniment shortly). By far the most common range for a single tune is an octave; two tunes span a sixth, eight a seventh, eighteen a ninth, and five a tenth.¹⁹ All tunes collectively span two octaves from C3 to C5, but most lie between C3 and G4. Some tunes, then, are uncomfortable for women either at pitch or transposed up an octave, but when sung without accompaniment are easily transposable. Most tunes begin and end on the same pitch.²⁰ With two exceptions, in which tunes end on an unexpected sharp third, the concluding pitch is always the tune's modal center.²¹ No tune uses a key signature other than one or no flats, and only eleven contain

any accidentals.²² Finally, these tunes are primarily made up of stepwise motion filling in intervallic leaps, making them easily singable. Table 1 provides a summary of these musical features.

Consider the tune assigned to the first psalm (see Fig. 2). It begins and ends on the final, D, and spans an octave, the climactic high D falling at the two-thirds mark (around the Golden Mean). This music follows conventional rules for the composition of melodies: the melody reverses direction after leaps, and large intervals are usually filled in with stepwise motion. With no melodic interval larger than a fifth and a high percentage of movement by step, this tune, like the others throughout, is difficult neither to learn nor to sing.

However, not all scholars agree that the tunes of the *WBP* are easy or that they are universally of reasonable musical quality. Perhaps the most commonly criticized musical feature of the *WBP* tunes in modern scholarship is rhythm.²³ We can see some of these rhythmic weaknesses in the Psalm 1 tune. It is made up of only three note values: whole note (semibreve),

Range

Sixth	Seventh	Octave	Ninth	Tenth
2 tunes	8	32	18	5

Starting Pitch

Same as the final	Fifth above	Fifth below	Whole step above	Third below
52 tunes	9	2	1	1

Ending Pitch

Tonic	Raised third
63 tunes	2

Accidentals

No accidentals	Accidentals
54 tunes	11

Table 1: Musical Features of the *WBP*'s Psalm Tunes

dotted whole note, and half note (minim). Each musical phrase is set with smaller note values as it reaches its end, a string of half notes that has the effect of speeding up the delivery of the conclusion of each line of text. This acceleration has great rhetorical

effect. However, the beginning of each phrase is not so effective. Unimportant articles and conjunctions—"the," "nor," "but," "both," "and"—are stressed, rather than the more important nouns and verbs that immediately follow.

PSALMES OF DAVID.

¶ Beatus vir. Psalme. i. T. S.

Whether it was *Chas.* or any other that gathered the *Psalmes* into a booke: it seemeth he did set this *Psalme* firste in manner of a *Proface*, to exhort all godly men to study and meditate the heavenly wisdom, for the effecte herof is, that they beleeued that geue them selues to holy all their life to Gods lawe: And that the wicked contemners of God, though they seme for a while fortunate, yet at length shall come to miserable destruction.

The man is blest that
hath not bent, to wicked
rede his eare: nor led his life as sinners do nor sat
in scozners chair. 2. But in the lawe of god
lord, both set his whole delight, & in that lawe doth
C. I. exer.

2 *Psalme .I.*

Figure 2: Psalm 1, photograph © British Library Board, C.25.g.3., sig. C.1.r-v.

While few of the tunes of the *WBP* were taken directly from the Geneva Psalter, most were stylistically influenced by those French tunes. The rhythms of Geneva Psalter tunes were carefully crafted to fit the French language, long and short notes matching their texts' patterns of stressed and unstressed syllables. Unfortunately, this pairing does not translate well into other languages. Among these rhythmic features was a long first syllable for each line of text. Though this trait does not fit English text well, it nonetheless became characteristic of the tunes of the *WBP*. Thus, while the music of the Geneva Psalter stressed intelligibility and accessibility, its words easily understood by congregations and its melodies easily sung by amateur singers, this goal was not so well executed in its English iteration.²⁴

The tunes of the *WBP* therefore attempted, with varying levels of musical success, to make sacred singing easy and accessible for the laity. The idea that singing is characteristic of Christian believers is reinforced by the psalm texts about music, which emphasize both who can sing and who cannot. Throughout the *WBP*, the psalm texts state that true believers can and should sing, and they are often exhorted to sing together as a community. In Psalm 47:1, for example, the *WBP* strengthens the command found in the Coverdale Psalter for "all ye people" to clap their hands and sing unto God. The *WBP* contains that same instruction, but expands it: "YE people all in one accorde, / clappe handes and eke reioyce: / Be glad and sing vnto the Lorde." The *WBP* conveys the impression that not only should all Christians sing, but they should sing together as a single voice (using the provided monophonic psalm tunes?). The phrase "in one accord" or "with one accord" appears in eight of the *WBP*'s passages that

reference singing. It is a convenient rhyme, certainly—"one accord" pairs nicely with "Lord," which is helpful for a poetic form characterized by short phrases and frequent rhymes—but the consistency with which the *WBP* emphasizes the unity of Christians when singing communally "in one accord" remains striking. Like other Protestant writings, the *WBP* presents all Christians as a unified group, with ordained priests and laity joined together in praise. Frequent references to the singing of the "saints" follows the Protestant understanding that all Christians are saints (not merely those canonized by the Roman Catholic Church). Protestants across England and the Continent would have identified strongly with the *WBP*'s version of Psalm 30:4: "Sing prayse ye saintes that proue and see, / the goodness of the Lord: / In memorye of his maiestie, / Reioyce with one accord."

**"In psalmes, Hymnes & spirituall songs":
Genre in *The Whole Booke of Psalmes***

We have examined *who*, according to the *WBP*, can and should sing. I turn now to the question of *what* they should sing. Generally, the psalms identify the works to be sung as simply "songs." Psalm 96:1 reads, "SYng ye with prayse vnto the Lorde, / New songs of ioy and mirthe." Psalm 98:1 says similarly, "O Syng ye now vnto the Lorde, / a new and pleasaunt songe." Several more times, the songs are specified as "new": "A new song I will sing O God"; "Sing ye vnto the Lorde our God, / a new reioysing song."²⁵ Of course, this description of "new songs" is not original to English translations of the psalms, but for those English churchgoers who could remember the pre-Reformation days of chant by professional choir, the congregational metrical psalms of the *WBP* must have seemed very new indeed. Psalm

129, which would in later editions of the *WBP* be replaced by a different version, even suggests the topic for a song: “Of Israell thys may now be the song, / euen from my youth my foes haue oft me noied / A thousand euils since, I was tendre & yonge / Thy haue wrought, yet was I not destroyed.”²⁶

Occasionally, in comparison with the Coverdale Psalter, the designation “songs” is joined or replaced by the more specific term “psalms.” I read this as a kind of conscious self-promotion, the musical psalter encouraging sung performance of the psalms. The *WBP* adds reference to psalms five times throughout the psalter. In Psalm 9:11, where the Coverdale Psalter counseled readers to “praise the Lord which dwelleth in Sion,” the *WBP* becomes even more specific, telling its readers to “Sing Psalmes therfore vnto the Lorde, / that dwelleth in Sion hill.” The *WBP* further specifies the singing of psalms in Psalms 27:8, 33:2, and 68:32; the Coverdale Psalter made mention of psalms in these passages. The *WBP*’s Psalm 40:3 even indicates God as the source of psalm singing: “To me he taught a psalme of prayse.”

From its very beginning, the *WBP* supported the singing of psalms in Christian practice, its title page prominently displaying two quotations from the Bible: “If any be afflicted let him praye, and if any be mery let hym syng Psalmes” and “Let the worde of God dwell plentuously in all wisdom teachinge & exhorting one another in psalmes, Hymnes & spirituall songs, & sing vnto the Lord in your herts.” These verses, James 5[:13] and Colossians 3[:16], are drawn from New Testament writings referencing the Book of Psalms, which serve to validate the Hebrew Psalms as a part of Christian worship. These two epistles to early Christian communities provide

instructions that psalm singing should play a role in both one’s individual life (cf. James 5) and common life (cf. Colossians 3). Of course, by the sixteenth century, appeals to these particular verses as reasons to sing the Psalms were not new, nor was the *WBP* unique in promoting them. They had appeared on the title pages of earlier English books of devotional music: Coverdale’s *Goostly Psalmes* (printed by John Rastell for John Gough, ca. 1535) and the partial psalters Day had published prior to the *WBP*. Such prominent placement of scriptural verses on title pages was characteristic of Protestant prints, which often argued that Protestantism had recaptured the spirit and truth of the ancient church as a corrective to Roman Catholic innovations.²⁷

Even today, Christians remain unsure of the intended distinction in Colossians 3:16 among “psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs.” Are these three genres different in text, theology, musical style, or use? Are they, in fact, three descriptors for a broader genre of sacred vocal music? It is perhaps instructive to consider how these terms were understood in early modern musical culture. Johannes Tinctoris’s *Terminorum musicae diffinitorium* (Dictionary of Musical Terms; compiled before 1475 and printed ca. 1495) was among the first such glossaries of musical terminology. In this treatise, Tinctoris defined “hymn” and “hymnist” in only general terms: “Hymnus est laus dei cum cantico” (A hymn is the praise of God in song); “Hymnista est ille qui hymnos canit” (A hymnist is one who sings hymns). The Brussels manuscript of *Terminorum musicae diffinitorium* adds the following definition of a “song”: “Carmen est quicquid cantari potest” (A song is anything that can be sung).²⁸ These definitions tell us little of a possible perceived distinction between a

“song” and a “spiritual song,” or between a “hymn” and any other sacred vocal work.

An English source, more closely related than the continental Tinctoris, is more helpful. John Merbecke [Marbeck], author of the 1550 *Booke of Common praier noted* and therefore one of England’s foremost Protestant musical thinkers, published his commonplace book *A Booke of Notes and Common places* in 1581. In his entry “Singing,” Merbecke wrote:

Let the word of the Lord abound plenteously in you, teach & admonish ye one another, in Psalmes, Hymnes, and spirituall songs [marginal note: Coll. 3.16], singing in your hearts with grace. By these wordes Paule expresseth two thinges, first that our songs be the word of God, which must abounde plenteously in us, and they must not serue onely to giuing of thankes, but also to teach and admonish. And then it is added with grace, which is thus to understand, as though he shoulde haue sayde aptlye and properlye both to the senses and to measures, and also unto the voices. Let them not sing rude and rustically things, neither let it be immoderately, as doe the Tauerne hunters. To the Corinthians, where he intreateth of an holy assembly, the same Apostle writeth after this manner. When ye assemble together according as euery one of you hath a Psalme, or hath doctrine, or hath tongue, or hath reuelation, or hath interpretation, let all thinges bee done unto edifieng. By which wordes is declared that singers of songes and Psalmes, had their place in the Church.²⁹

Even when quoting and then commenting upon Colossians 3:16 specifically, Merbecke too fails to make a strict distinction among “psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs” as separate categories. Instead, he identifies the three as a broader group of musical

genres that can appropriately be used in liturgical settings. Unlike “rude and rustically things,” psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs are edifying to the congregation, teaching and admonishing the singers in addition to giving thanks to God. Following his gloss upon Colossians 3:16, Merbecke turns to discuss 1 Corinthians 14:26, concluding that “singers of songes and Psalmes, had their place in the Church.” From Merbecke we learn that English Protestant musical thought—or at least one of its most prominent thinkers—made no effort to distinguish among psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs, but instead between music that was appropriate for church and music that was not. This distinction was based on text source and on function: sacred songs had texts drawn from scripture (“the word of God”) and could be recognized by the edification that resulted from singing them.

This may help to explain why the main content of the *WBP* was structured in three parts—a set of hymns, all 150 psalms, then another set of hymns—without comment. The hymns, which included some metrical versions of canticles for Morning and Evening Prayer, as well as some key catechetical texts (see Table 2), stood alongside the Psalms as useful religious texts.³⁰ By including metrical versions of many of the canticles of the English services required by the 1559 Book of Common Prayer—Venite exultemus, Te Deum, Benedicite (Song of the Three Children), Benedictus, and Quicunque vult for Morning Prayer; and Magnificat, Nunc dimittis, and Veni Creator for Evening Prayer—the *WBP* made a strong case for the appropriateness of its own liturgical use.³¹ And, like Merbecke’s distinction among psalms, hymns, and spiritual

Opening Hymns	Closing Hymns
Veni creator	The x commaundements (Audi Israel)
Venite	(with A prayer)
Te deum	The Lords praier
The songe of the thre Children (Benedicite)	The xii articles of our faith (The Crede)
The song of Zacharias (Benedictus)	A prayer vnto the holy ghost
Magnificat	Da pacem domine
Nunc dimittis	The complaint of a sinner
The Crede (Quicunque vult)	A prayer (A Lamentation)
The lamentation of a sinner	A thankesgeuing
The humble sute of the sinner	Preserue vs Lorde
The Lordes prayer (Pater noster)	
The x commaundements	

Table 2: Hymns in the *WBP*

songs and “rude and rustically things,” the *WBP*’s title page argues that the contents of this hymnal are intended to displace “all vngodly Songes and Ballades, which tend only to the nourishing of vyce and corrupting of youth.”

**“Now in thy congregations” and
“priately for their solace & comfort”:
When and Where to Sing**

Designations of what to sing are joined by descriptions of the proper location and frequency of worshipful song. According to the *WBP*, praise of God should be sung daily, even multiple times a day. Psalm 119:164 depicts an extravagant devotion that offers God frequent praise in thanksgiving for God’s abundant goodness: “Seuen times a day I prayse the Lord / singing with hart and voyce: / Thy rightuous actes and wonderfull, / so cause me to reioyse.” Psalms 61:8 and 96:2 also make the case

for daily song. Psalm 108[:2] suggests music making in the morning (“Awake my viole and my harpe, / swete melody to make, / And in the morning I my selfe, / right early will awake.”), and Psalm 77:6 at night (“By night my songes I call to mynde, / once made thy prayse to shew: / And with my hart, much taulke I finde, / my spirites doth searche to knowe”). Each day should contain song, both morning and night, as Psalm 92:1–2 makes clear:

IT is a thing, bothe good and meete,
to praise the highest Lorde:
And to thine name O thou most hye,
to sing in one accorde.
To shew the kindnes of the Lorde,
betime ere day be light,
And eke declare his truth abrode,
when it doth draw to nyght.

Like the rhyme “Lord”/“one accord,” “always” pairs conveniently with “praise.” Thus in Psalms 35:30, 40:3, and 71:8, believers are exhorted to sing with

thankfulness “always” in order to laud, praise, and honor God. And in Psalm 89:1, the psalmist claims that “TO syng the mercyes of the Lorde, / my tounge shall neuer spare.” According to the *WBP*, worshipful singing should take place constantly: every day, morning and evening, and always; not only on certain days or at limited times.

Where should this singing take place—in a church or at home? The *WBP* advocates for both. Psalm 68:25 makes allowances for congregational singing: “The singers goo befre[before] with ioy, / the minstrels folow after: / And in the midst the damsels play, / with timbrell and with taber. / Now in thy congregations, / (O Israell) prayse the Lord: / And Iacobs whole posteritie, / geue thanks with one accorde.” However, most of the argument for using these psalms in a church setting is found not in the text of the psalms themselves but among the prefatory material. The *WBP*’s title page (Fig. 1) claims that the book has been “Faithfully perused and alowed according to thordreappointed in the Quenes maiesties Iniunctions,” a statement that is usually interpreted today and was clearly interpreted by some in the period to be a reference to the forty-ninth Elizabethan Injunction, which allowed for the singing of “an hymn, or suchlike song to the praise of Almighty God” in the liturgies of the Church of England.³² The title page goes on to describe how readers of the psalter can use the book: in addition to enabling congregational singing, the *WBP* is advertised as “Very mete to be vsed of all sortes of people priuatly [domestically] for their solace & comfort.” The music preface, too, characterized the “singing of Psalmes” as a “godly exercise” in which a community “in the common place of prayer . . . with one voyce” may “render thanks & prayses to God.” Alternately, purchasers of this book can sing

psalms “priuatly by them selues, or at home in their houses.”³³ This prefatory essay, like the title page, created space for the singing of psalms by individuals privately, devotionally as a household, and as a congregation in church. Further encouragement of domestic performance can be found within the psalms themselves. Psalm 118[:14–15] suggests singing in the home: “The lorde is my defence and strengthe / my ioy, my mirth and song: / He is become for me in dede, / a sauour most strong. / The right hand of the lord our God, / doth bring to pas great things: / He causeth voyce of ioy and health, / in righteous mennes dwellynges.” The multifaceted nature of performance encouraged in the psalter was born out in its actual use in sixteenth-century England; there is ample scholarship exploring the performance of the *WBP*’s metrical psalms at home as an active form of domestic devotion and in church as congregational song.³⁴ As a group, these metrical psalms advocate for singing in community—in the company of other Christians, “in one accord”—far more strongly than they specify a location. Communal congregational singing was only sporadically a part of pre-Reformation Roman Catholic practice,³⁵ and the Reformation shift to the vernacular enabled communal singing in an entirely new fashion. And indeed, while domestic devotion was undeniably a vital part of medieval English Catholicism,³⁶ Protestants across Europe stressed and re-stressed communal devotion within the home and the importance of families in religious education. In Lutheran reformed thought, parents—especially fathers—were expected to be the source of significant religious instruction for their children (even as the reformers also expressed some anxiety regarding the individual parent’s judgment).³⁷ In

Reformation England, too, the godly household was considered a crucial site of religious change, one in which, despite cultural fears about the weakness of women, mothers as well as fathers took an active role in the domestic religious education of children and servants.³⁸ With its musical metrical psalms allowing for communal psalm singing and its catechetical hymns, the *WBP* itself may have been among the texts they used for their children's religious formation.³⁹

It is interesting to note that in two of the passages quoted in this section (Psalms 119:164 and 35:30), the parallel text in the prose Coverdale Psalter does not make the same argument about the value of praising God through musical worship—indeed, the Coverdale passages do not reference music at all. While all psalms in any translation will by their very nature contain mention of songs and singing, the *WBP* is remarkable in its sheer frequency of mentions of music, often adding musical references in instances where the Coverdale Psalter did not contain them (see the Appendix below for a comparison of psalm texts): while the Coverdale Psalter mentioned music, song, or instruments in 62 passages, the *WBP* made musical references in 71. Only very rarely does the *WBP* remove a musical reference found in the Coverdale Psalter. Some of these additions and removals may be driven simply by the needs of the poetic form, but it seems to me that the resultant statement about music is too consistent for the sum of these changes to be inadvertent. In comparison to the Coverdale Psalter, the *WBP* adds mention of music 15 times, while removing reference to music in six passages.⁴⁰ The *WBP* often converts the Coverdale Psalter's nonmusical verbs and verb phrases—such as “speak,” “talk,”

“rejoice,” “give thanks,” and “praise” — to “sing.” This increase in the musical qualities of the psalm texts themselves serves to enhance the psalter's own identity, explicitly presenting psalms not only as scriptural texts but also as songs.⁴¹ Such differences between the *WBP*'s metrical psalms and the Coverdale Psalter's prose psalms may seem minor, but they are significant in the context of the *WBP*'s theological project. Versification represents interpretation, and the *WBP* is remarkably consistent in its manner of speaking about music as a Protestant imperative.

“Prayse ye the Lorde with harp and song”: Aesthetics and Instrumentation

The final question I will explore is that of aesthetics and instrumentation: How should the *WBP*'s psalms and canticles be sung? What advice do the *WBP*'s psalms give regarding the manner of singing, and does the psalter express any partiality to particular vocal qualities or possible musical accompaniment?

Some psalms display preferences regarding musical aesthetics. Psalm 47:1 asks “YE people all in one accorde” to “Be glad and sing vnto the Lorde, / with swete and pleasaunt voyce.” Psalm 71:25 echoes this sentiment, the psalmist describing his singing as demonstrating “pleasant voyce,” and Psalm 97:9 prompts Sion and Judah to “make a pleasaunt noyce.” Sweet, pleasant singing is praiseworthy, while other vocal attributes beyond timbre, such as range and volume, go unremarked.⁴²

The Psalms describe ideal tone quality but not a potential singer's ability to sightread, lead others in song, or invent their own songs. However, while the ability to improvise or to serve as a musical leader was beyond the needs of congregational

psalmody, this does not mean that the *WBP* regarded musical knowledge as unnecessary. Psalm 47:6 exhorts readers to “all skillful, prayes syng.” The ideal psalm singer is not only pleasant in voice but also skillful in musical knowledge.

More important than vocal quality is the attitude of the singer. In his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1536), John Calvin explained that because liturgical song is a form of prayer, it must be approached by the singer with the proper posture, stemming from the heart: “it is fully evident that unless voice and song, if interposed in prayer, spring from deep feeling of heart, neither has any value or profit in the least with God.” Calvin goes on: “we do not here condemn speaking and singing but rather strongly commend them, provided they are associated with the heart’s affection.”⁴³ The *WBP* places similar emphasis on the emotional condition of the singer: believers should sing with an attitude of thankfulness and joy. Psalm 33:1 notes that “it is a semely sight: / That vpriight men with thankfull voyce, / should prayse the God of might.” Psalm 69:32 advises that praise be shown “with a song: / I will extoll the same alwayes, / with harty thankes among.” Psalms 66:7 and 98:5 command singing “with joyful voice,” the latter further advising that readers “Geue thankes to God, sing and reioyce / to him with ioy and mirth.” Psalms 100:1, 118[:14], 132[:9], and 132[:17] all prompt believers to sing with joy and/or with mirth. Even instrumentalists are in Psalm 92:3–4 encouraged to play “With all the mirth you can inuent” and, like the psalmist, to “have ioy, in harte and voyce.” (In England, this sentiment is not unique to the *WBP*; encouragement to sing with thankfulness, joy, and mirth also appears in the Coverdale Psalter, although to a slightly lesser degree.)

Finally, I turn to the fraught question of instruments. The debate over the inclusion of instruments in worship was a tense point of contention in Protestant thought. Luther and most (but not all) Lutherans encouraged the continued use of organs.⁴⁴ Calvin and subsequent Calvinists rejected the use of instruments, approving only of unaccompanied psalm singing.⁴⁵ Zwingli occupied the other far end of the spectrum, allowing no instruments and indeed no music at all in church services.⁴⁶ In England, too, instruments were the source of much debate, with many English reformers aiming to silence the organ altogether, while others continued to support the use of instruments in worship. Official Church of England policy was agnostic; there was no mention of organs in the royal injunctions of 1547 or 1559, and an attempt to ban “the use of organs and curious singing” at the Convocation of 1563 failed. Arguments for and against the use of organs in churches can be found throughout the period, as can evidence both of organ destruction and of church payment for organs and organists.⁴⁷

When considered in relation to the spectrum of Protestant thought, from Luther’s support of instruments through Calvin’s rejection of instruments in favor of unaccompanied unison congregational singing to Zwingli’s rejection of any music at all, the *WBP* demonstrates a Lutheran bent (or indeed, a holdover of the Roman Catholic embrace of instrumental accompaniment). Because these psalms are not newly composed texts but versifications of scripture, they cannot stray too far from their source material, psalms that named instruments. Sometimes the instrumental music described in the *WBP*’s psalms is worshipful in its own right, most obviously and exuberantly in Psalm 150[:3–5]:

“His prayes with the princely noyse, / of sounding tropet blowe. / Praise him vpon the viole and, / vpon the harp also. / Praise him with timbrell and with flute, / orgaines and virginalles: / With sounding cimbals praise ye him: / praise him with loud cimbals.” More often, instruments function as accompaniment to their own players’ songs or those of others. Exhortations like that of Psalm 33:2 – “Prayse ye the Lorde with harp and songe, / in Psalmes and pleasant thinges: / with lute and instrument among, / that soundeth with ten stringes” – are common. Twelve instruments in total are named in the *WBP*’s psalm versifications: harp, lute, trumpet, timbrel, viol, the generic “string,” flute, tabor, shawm, organ, virginal, and cymbals. Table 3 lists the psalms in which these appear.

What makes the *WBP*’s presentation of proper musical worship remarkable is the deliberate addition of common Elizabethan

instruments; the accompaniment of sacred music thus becomes concretely encouraged rather than abstractly hypothetical. By far the most common instrument mentioned in the psalm versifications is the harp, and string instruments as a group dominate. This is entirely in keeping with the nature of the Psalms; their original Hebrew texts, while sometimes difficult to translate precisely, name string instruments in the overwhelming majority.⁴⁸ The harp or lyre, famed instrument of choice of King David, is a symbol of the Psalms themselves and appears with frequency in the *WBP*’s versifications. But in contrast to the original Hebrew texts, and, more important, unlike the Coverdale translation, the *WBP* adds additional Elizabethan instruments, particularly in Psalm 150, itself a catalogue of instruments appropriate for praise of God. The Coverdale Psalter names harp, lute, trumpet, timbrel, tabor (tabret),

Instrument	Psalms in Which It Appears
Harp	33, 43, 49, 57, 71, 81, 92, 98, 108, 137, 147, 149, 150
Lute	33, 57, 71, 81, 92
Trumpet	47, 81, 87, 98, 150
Timbrel (tabret)	68, 149, 150
Viol	108, 144, 150
Generic “string”	33, 57, 92, 144
Flute	149, 150
Tabor (tabret)	68
Shawm	98
Organ	150
Virginal	150
Cymbals	150

Table 3: Musical Instruments in the *WBP*’s Versifications

shawm, and cymbals. However, flute and organ are the *WBP*'s additions, as are viol (Psalms 108, 144, and 150) and virginal (Psalm 150). These latter two instruments were among the most characteristic of Elizabethan instruments and were staples of amateur music education, especially for young gentlewomen.⁴⁹ In stark contrast, the English-language Geneva Bible, while also listing trumpet, viol, harp, timbrel, flute, virginal, organ, and cymbals in its translation of Psalm 150, also prominently prints a marginal gloss that makes it clear that these instruments are not appropriate in modern musical worship: "Exhorting the people onely to reioice in praysing God, he maketh mention of those instrume[n]ts which by Gods comandement were appointed in the olde Law, but vnder Christ the vse thereof is abolished in the Church."⁵⁰

The inclusion of Elizabethan instruments (without caveat) ties the *WBP*'s psalm texts to this historical time and place, making these verses immediate and relevant for readers, who can see their own culture reflected in these depictions of music making. Psalm 150 in particular (quoted above) reads as a reasonably inclusive list of Elizabethan instruments, naming trumpet, viol, harp, timbrel, flute, organ, virginal, and cymbals. The original Hebrew text contained a ram's horn (shofar), two forms of lyre (which Coverdale translated as lute and harp), timbrel, strings, two types of cymbals, and an air-powered instrument that translates better as "woodwinds" than as "organ."⁵¹ The addition of not one but two keyboard instruments in Psalm 150—organ and virginal—further distances the *WBP* from the original Hebrew. By not merely naming generic or ancient Hebrew instruments, but noticeably adding Elizabethan ones, this metrical psalter seems

to come down strongly in support of the use of instruments in both domestic and church musical worship. (Yet it is interesting to note that there is little evidence that the metrical psalmody of the *WBP* was actually performed with organ accompaniment, despite the advocacy found within the psalter itself.⁵²)

The Whole Booke of Psalmes' English Protestant Musical Identity

In its musical ideology, the *WBP* displays a distinctive Protestant identity. This printed religious book was influenced by both Lutheran and Calvinist ideas, but it privileged certain aspects of each in order to accommodate and reinforce the state-sponsored Church of England, of which all English Christians were officially a part, regardless of their own personal theological commitments. Many of the official and unofficial pronouncements of the Church of England held a Calvinist bent, demonstrating (depending on the document) a mild to scathing distrust of music.⁵³ Other writings were more ambivalent, and sixteenth-century English Protestantism was marked by complex arguments regarding the meaning of music and its ideal practice. In this environment, the *WBP* contributed a philosophy of music and a framework for worship that was to influence the English church for several centuries. Consider the *WBP*'s relationship to the Church of England. By claiming state authorization, the *WBP* reinforced the idea that any aspect of English Protestantism required the approval of the official state church. Ambiguity in the Elizabethan Injunctions and the Book of Common Prayer meant that while metrical psalms were not explicitly allowed, neither were they barred from liturgy, and many

parishes across England took advantage of the loophole.

The *WBP* also accords with many of the theological commitments of the Protestant Reformation, claiming continuity with scriptural practices and the ancient church. It makes the role of the laity more significant, increasing their congregational participation and providing new opportunities for domestic devotion. The *WBP* contains only monophonic music rather than polyphony, enforcing musical (and implying social) unity. Its tunes are accessible, easy to sing and to learn, and the book even contains an introductory music theory treatise that can teach the musically uneducated the skills they need to participate. While it included no explicit discussion of the didactic role of music in teaching religious doctrine, the *WBP* was employed as a useful resource for domestic devotion and religious education.

The *WBP* seems to have a complicated relationship with one of the most important Protestant commitments: the primacy of the word. Nowhere does the text – main content or prefatory material – state that music is employed in the service of the words. In fact, the music preface is placed before the “Treatise made by Athanasius,” giving music greater prominence than the text explaining the proper use of the psalms. In many subsequent editions, the music preface would be removed but Athanasius’s treatise would remain. The prefatory matter of the initial edition, however, seemed to elevate music over the psalm texts. Yet only the ordering of the prefatory essays conveys this idea. In all other respects, text is implicitly presented as more important than music. While every psalm is prefaced with the initials of the versifier (and Sternhold’s and Hopkins’s names are prominently displayed on the title page), none of the composers is

ever identified. (This is especially interesting considering the rising importance of musical authorship in early modern printing.⁵⁴)

Collectively, the texts and paratexts of the *WBP* are undeniably Protestant. Sometimes the psalter’s themes incline toward Calvinism, due in large part to the influence of the Geneva Psalter. Yet surprisingly, in light of the aborted possibility of a Lutheran-based English congregational song tradition represented by Coverdale’s *Goostly Psalmes* (banned by Henry VIII in 1546), the *WBP* also promotes distinctively Lutheran sentiments. Only true Christian believers sing, the psalm texts argue, and they should sing daily, both in church and at home. They should sing psalms (a Calvinist commitment) but may also sing hymns and canticles (a Lutheran perspective). More important is the proper attitude of the singer, who must always sing to God with thankfulness and joyfulness, and with a pleasant and skillful voice. Psalms can, and perhaps should, be accompanied by instruments – through its addition of specifically Elizabethan instruments to the psalm texts, especially its invocation of the organ in Psalm 150, the *WBP* takes a definite stance against Calvinists’ and Zwinglians’ opposition to the use of instruments (and especially the organ) in worship. Taken together, the prefatory matter, hymns, and psalms of the *WBP* constructed a particularly English Protestant understanding of music as a part of the psalter’s role in creating the religious culture of a unified Church of England. Even though the English church never officially adopted this vision and musical practices remained diverse, and the *WBP* compiled psalm versifications written by a number of authors, the consistency of the *WBP*’s theology of music remains remarkable.

Appendix: Musical References in *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* and the Coverdale Psalter

Only the white-background passages reference music.

Verses that do not reference music are highlighted grey for easy comparison.

Psalm Verses	Coverdale Psalter (1535) ¹	<i>The Whole Booke of Psalmes</i> (1562)
7:18	I will give thanks unto the Lord, according to his righteousness: and I will praise the Name of the Lord most High.	I will geue thanks to God therfore, / that iudgeth rightuously: / And with my song prayse will the name, / of hym that is most hye.
9:1–2	I will give thanks unto thee, O Lord, with my whole heart: I will speak of all thy marvellous works. I will be glad and reioyce in thee: yea, my songs will I make of thy name, O thou most Highest.	With hart and mouthe, vnto the Lorde, / will I syng laude and prayse: / And speake of all thy wondrous workes, / and them declare alwayes. / I will be glad and muche reioyce, / in thee (O God) moste hie: / And make my songes extoll thy name, / aboue the sterry skie.
9:11	O praise the Lord which dwelleth in Sion: shew the people of his doings.	Sing Psalmes therfore vnto the Lorde, / that dwelleth in Sion hill:
13:6	I will sing of the Lord, because he hath dealt so lovingly with me: yea, I will praise the Name of the Lord most Highest.	I will geue thanks vnto the Lorde, / and prayses to hym syng: / Because he hathe hard my request, / and graunted my wishyng.
18:2 (18:3 in <i>WBP</i>)	I will call upon the Lord, which is worthy to be praised: so shall I be safe from mine enemies.	When I sing laud vnto the Lorde, / most worthy to be serued: / Then fro[m] my foes I am right sure, / that I shalbe preserued.
18:50 (18:48 in <i>WBP</i>)	For this cause will I give thanks unto thee, O Lord, among the Gentiles: and sing praises unto thy Name.	And for this cause, O Lorde my God, / to thee geue thanks I shall: / And syng out prayses to thy name, / among the Gentils all.
21:13	Be thou exalted, Lord, in thine own strength: so will we sing, and praise thy power.	Be thou exalted Lorde therfore, / in thy strength euery houre: / So shall we sing right solempnely, / praisyng thy might and power.
27:7 (27:8 in <i>WBP</i>)	Therefore will I offer in his dwelling an oblation with great gladness: I will sing, and speak praises unto the Lord.	Therefore within his house will I, / Geue sacrifice of prayse: / With Psalmes and songes I will applye, / to laude the Lorde alwayes.

28:8 (28:7 in <i>WBP</i>)	The Lord is my strength and my shield; my heart hath trusted in him, and I am helped: therefore my heart danceth for joy, and in my song will I praise him.	He is my shield and fortitude, / my buckeler in destresse. / My hope, my helpe, my hartes relyef, / my songe shall him confesse.
30:4	Sing praises unto the Lord, O ye saints of his: and give thanks unto him for a remembrance of his holiness.	Sing prayse ye saintes that proue and see, / the goodness of the Lord: / In memorye of his maiestie, / Reioyse with one accord.
30:13 (30:12 in <i>WBP</i>)	Therefore shall every good man sing of thy praise without ceasing: O my God, I will give thanks unto thee for ever.	Wherefore my soule vncessauntly, / shall syng vnto thy prayse: / My Lorde, my God, to thee will I, / Geue laude and thankes alwayes.
32:8	Thou art a place to hide me in, thou shalt preserve me from trouble: thou shalt compass me about with songs of deliverance.	When trouble and aduersitie, / doo compasse me about: / Thou art my refuge and my ioye, / and thou doest rid me out.
33:1–3	Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous: for it becometh well the just to be thankful. Praise the Lord with harp: sing praises unto him with the lute, and instrument of ten strings. Sing unto the Lord a new song: sing praises lustily unto him with a good courage.	YE rightuous in the Lorde reioyse, / it is a semely sight: / That vpright men with thankfull voyce, / should prayse the God of might. / Prayse ye the Lorde with harp and songe, / in Psalmes and pleasant thinges: / with lute and instrument among, / that soundeth with ten stringes. / Sing to the Lord a song most new, / with courage geue him prayes:
35:28 (35:30 in <i>WBP</i>)	And as for my tongue, it shall be talking of thy righteousness: and of thy praise all the day long.	Wherefore my tonge I will applye, / thy righteousness to pryse: / Unto the Lorde, my God will I, / sing laudes with thankes alwayse.
40:3	And he hath put a new song in my mouth: even a thanksgiving unto our God.	To me he [God] taught a psalme of prayse, / whiche I must shew abroad: / And sing new songes of thankes alwayse, / vnto the Lorde our God.
42:4 (42:4b in <i>WBP</i>)	Now when I think thereupon, I pour out my heart by myself: for I went with the multitude, and brought them forth into the house of God;	When I did marche in good aray, / furnished with my trayne: / Unto the temple was one way, / with songes and harts most fayne.
42:10	The Lord hath granted his loving-kindness in the daytime: and in the night-season did I sing of him, and made my prayer unto the God of my life.	Yet I by day felt his goodnes, / and helpe at all assayes: / Lykewise by night I did not cease, / the liuyng God to prayse.

43:4	And that I may go unto the altar of God, even unto the God of my joy and gladness: and upon the harp will I give thanks unto thee, O God, my God.	Then shal I to the aultar go, / of God my ioy and cheare: / And on my harpe geue thanks to thee / O God, my God most deare.
45:1–2	My heart is inditing of a good matter: I speak of the things which I have made unto the King. My tongue is the pen: of a ready writer.	My hart doth now, take in hande, / Some godly songe to singe: / Thy prayse I shall shew therein, / perteyneth to the kynge. / My tounge shalbe as quicke, / his honor to endite: / As is the pen of any scribe, / that vseth faste to wryte.
47:1	O clap your hands together, all ye people: O sing unto God with the voice of melody.	YE people all in one accorde, / clappe handes and eke reioyce: / Be glad and sing vnto the Lorde, / with swete and pleasaunt voyce.
47:5–7 (47:5–6 in <i>WBP</i>)	God is gone up with a merry noise: and the Lord with the sound of the trump. O sing praises, sing praises unto our God: O sing praises, sing praises unto our King. For God is the King of all the earth: sing ye praises with understanding.	Our God ascended vp on hye, / with ioy and pleasaunt noyce, / The Lorde goeth vp aboue the skye, / with trompets royall voyce. / Sing prayse to God, sing prayse, / sing prayses to our kynge: / For God is king of all the earth, / all skilfull, prayses syng.
49:4	I will incline mine ear to the parable: and shew my dark speech upon the harp.	I will inclyne myne eare to knowe, / the parables so darke. / And open all my doubtfull speache, / in metre on my harpe.
51:14	Deliver me from blood-guiltiness, O God, thou that art the God of my health: and my tongue shall sing of thy righteousness.	O God that of my health art Lorde, / forgeue me thys my bloudy vice: / My hart and tounge shall then accorde, / to sing thy mercies and iustice. Another Psalm 51 (not given verse numbers): O God that art God of my health, / from blood deliuer me: / That prayses of thy righteousnes / my tonge may syng to thee. / My lippes that yet fast closed be, / doo thou, O Lorde vnlose: / The prayses of thy maiestie / my mouth shall so disclose:

57:8–10 (57:9–11 in <i>WBP</i>)	My heart is fixed, O God, my heart is fixed: I will sing, and give praise. Awake up, my glory; awake, lute and harp: I myself will awake right early. I will give thanks unto thee, O Lord, among the people: and I will sing unto thee among the nations.	My harte is set to laude the Lorde, / in hym to ioye alwayes. / My hart I say doth well accorde, / to syng hys laude and prayse. / Awake my ioy, awake I say, / my lute, my harpe and stryng: / For I my sealf before the daye, / will rise, reioyce and syng / Amonge the people I will tell, / the goodnes of my God: / And shew hys prayse that doeth excell, in Heathen landes abroad.
59:16–17	As for me, I will sing of thy power, and will praise thy mercy betimes in the morning: for thou hast been my defence and refuge in the day of my trouble. Unto thee, O my strength, will I sing: for thou, O God, art my refuge, and my merciful God.	But I will shew thy strength abroad, / thy goodnes I will prayse: / For thou arte my defence and God, / at nede in all assayes. / Thou art my strength, thou hast me staid / O Lorde I synge to thee: / Thou arte my forte, my fence and ayde, / a louing God to me.
61:8	So will I always sing praise unto thy Name: that I may daily perform my vows.	Then shall I singe for euer still, / with prayse vnto thy name: / That all my voues I may fulfill, / and dayly pay the same.
63:6 (63:5 in <i>WBP</i>)	My soul shall be satisfied, even as it were with marrow and fatness: when my mouth praiseth thee with joyful lips.	My soule is filled as with marow, / whiche is bothe fat and swete: / My mouth therefore shall sing such songs / as are for thee most mete.
65:14	The folds shall be full of sheep: the valleys also shall stand so thick with corn, that they shall laugh and sing.	In places playne the flocke shall fede, / and couer all the earth: / The valies with corne shall so excede, / that men shall sing for mirth.
66:1–3	O be joyful in God, all ye lands: sing praises unto the honour of his Name, make his praise to be glorious. Say unto God, O how wonderful art thou in thy works: through the greatness of thy power shall thine enemies be found liars unto thee. For all the world shall worship thee: sing of thee, and praise thy name.	Ye men on earth in God reioyce, / with prayse set forth his name: / Extoll his might with hart and voyce / geue glory to the same. / How wonderfull, O Lorde, say ye, / in all thy workes thou art: / Thy foes for feare doo seke to thee, / full sore agaynst theyr hart. / All men that dwell the earth throughout / doo prayse the name of God: / The laude therof the worlde about, / is shewd and set abroad.
66:7	O praise our God, ye people: and make the voice of his praise to be heard;	ye people geue vnto our God, / due laude and thanks alwayes, / With ioyful voyce declare abroad, / and syng vnto hys prayse.

68:4	O sing unto God, and sing praises unto his Name: magnify him that rideth upon the heavens, as it were upon an horse; praise him in his name JAH, and reioice before him.	Sing prayse, sing prayse vnto the Lord / who rideth on the skie: / Extoll this name of Iah our God, / and him do magnifie.
68:25	The singers go before, the minstrels follow after: in the midst are the damsels playing with the timbrels. Give thanks, O Israel, unto God the Lord in the congregations: from the ground of the heart.	The singers goo befre [before] with ioy, / the minstrels folow after: / And in the midst the damsels play, / with timbrell and with taber. / Now in thy congregations, / (O Israell) prayse the Lord: / And Iacobs whole posteritie, / geue thanks with one accorde.
68:32	Sing unto God, O ye kingdoms of the earth: O sing praises unto the Lord;	Therfore ye kingdomes of the earth, / geue prayse vnto the Lorde: / Sing Psalmes to God with one consent, / therto let all accorde.
69:12 (69:13–14 in <i>WBP</i>)	They that sit in the gate speak against me: and the drunkards make songs upon me.	Both hie and lowe, and all the throng, / that sit within the gate: / They haue me euer in theyr tong, / of me they talke and prate.
69:31 (69:32 in <i>WBP</i>)	I will praise the Name of God with a song: and magnify it with thanksgiving.	That I may geue thy name the prayse, / and shew it with a song: / I will extoll the same alwayes, / with harty thanks among.
71:7 (71:8 in <i>WBP</i>)	Let my mouth be filled with thy praise: that I may sing of thy glory and honour all the day long.	Wherefore my mouth no tune shall lacke, / thy glory and thy prayse: / And eke my tong shall not be slack, to honor thee alwayse.
71:20-21 (71:24–25 in <i>WBP</i>)	Therefore will I praise thee and thy faithfulness, O God, playing upon an instrument of musick: unto thee will I sing upon the harp, O thou Holy One of Israel. My lips will be fain when I sing unto thee: and so will my soul whom thou hast delivered.	Therefore thy faithfulness to prayse, / I will bothe lute and sing: / My harp shall sound thy laude alwayes / O Israels holy king. / My mouth will ioy with pleasant voyce / when I shall sing to thee: / And eke my soule will mucche reioyce, / for thou hast made me free.
72:18–19 (72:19–20 in <i>WBP</i>)	Blessed be the Lord God, even the God of Israel: which only doeth wondrous things; / And blessed be the Name of his majesty for ever: and all the earth shall be filled with his majesty. Amen, Amen.	Praise ye the Lord of hostes and sing, / to Israels God eche one: / For he doth euery wondrous thing, / yea he him self alone. / And blessed be his holy name, all times eternally: / That all the earth may prayse the same, / Amen, Amen, say I.

77:6	I call to remembrance my song: and in the night I commune with mine own heart, and search out my spirits.	By night my songes I call to mynde, / once made thy prayse to shew: / And with my hart, much taulke I finde, / my spirites doth searche to knowe.
81:1-3	Sing we merrily unto God our strength: make a cheerful noise unto the God of Jacob. / Take the psalm, bring hither the tabret: the merry harp with the lute. Blow up the trumpet in the new-moon: even in the time appointed, and upon our solemn feast-day.	BE lyghte and glad in God reioyce / which is our strength & staie / be ioyfull and lyfte vp your voyce, to Iacobs God I say, / prepare your instrumentes most mete / some ioyfull psalme to synge, / stryke vp with harp and lute so swete / on euery pleasant stryng. / Blow as it were in the new mone, / with trumpets of the best: / As it is vsed to be done, at any solempne feast.
84:3 (84:3–4 in <i>WBP</i>)	Yea, the sparrow hath found her an house, and the swallow a nest where she may lay her young: even thy altars, O Lord of hosts, my King and my God.	The sparrowes find a rome to rest, / and saue them selues from wrong: / And eke the swallow hath a neste, / wherin to kepe her yong. / These birdes full nigh, thin aulter maye) / haue place to sitte and synge: / O Lorde of hostes thou art I say, / my God and eke my kynge.
87:7 (87:8 in <i>WBP</i>)	The singers also and trumpeters shall he rehearse: All my fresh springs shall be in thee.	The trumpetters with such as syng, / therin great plenty be: / My fountayns & my pleasant springs / are compast all in thee.
89:1	My song shall be alway of the loving-kindness of the Lord: with my mouth will I ever be shewing thy truth from one generation to another.	TO syng the mercyes of the Lorde, / my tounge shall neuer spare: / And with my mouth from age to age, / thy truthe I will declare.
92:1–4	It is a good thing to give thanks unto the Lord: and to sing praises unto thy Name, O most Highest. To tell of thy loving-kindness early in the morning: and of thy truth in the night-season. Upon an instrument of ten strings, and upon the lute: upon a loud instrument, and upon the harp. For thou, Lord, hast made me glad through thy works: and I will rejoice in giving praise for the operations of thy hands.	IT is a thing, bothe good and meete, / to praise the highest Lorde: / And to thine name O thou most hye, / to sing in one accorde. / To shew the kindnes of the Lorde, / betime ere day be light, / And eke declare his truth abrode, / when it doth draw to nyght. / Upon ten strynged instru[m]ent, / on lute and harpe so swete: / With all the mirth you can inuent, / of instruments most meete, / For thou hast made me to reioyse, / in thinges so wrought by thee: / And I haue ioy, in harte and voyce, / thy handy workes to see.

95:1-2	O come, let us sing unto the Lord: let us heartily reioyce in the strength of our salvation. Let us come before his presence with thanksgiving: and shew ourselves glad in him with psalms.	O Come let vs lyfte vp oure voyce, / and synge vnto the Lorde, / in him our rock of health reioyce, / let vs with one accorde, / yea let vs come before his face, to geue him thanks and prayse, / in singing Psalmes vnto his grace, / let vs be glad all wayes.
96:1-2	O sing unto the Lord a new song: sing unto the Lord, all the whole earth. Sing unto the Lord, and praise his name: be telling of his salvation from day to day.	SYng ye with prayse vnto the Lorde, / New songs of ioy and mirthe / Sing vnto him with one accorde, / all people on the yearthe. / yea sing vnto the Lorde, I saye, / prayse ye his holy name / Declare and shew from day to daye, / saluation by the same.
96:11-12	Let the heavens reioyce, and let the earth be glad: let the sea make a noise, and all that therein is. Let the field be joyful, and all that is in it: then shall all the trees of the wood reioyce before the Lord.	The heauens shall great ioy begin, / the earth shall eke reioyce: / The sea with all that is therin, / shall shoute and make a noice. / The field shall ioye and euey thing, / that spryngeth of the earth: / The wod and euey tree shall sing, / with gladnes and with mirth.
97:8 (97:9 in <i>WBP</i>)	Sion heard of it, and rejoiced: and the daughters of Judah were glad, because of thy judgements, O Lord.	With ioy shall Sion here this thyng, / and Juda shall reioyce: / For at thy iudgements they shall sing, / and make a pleasaunt noyce.
98:1	O sing unto the Lord a new song: for he hath done marvellous things.	O Syng ye now vnto the Lorde, / a new and pleasaunt songe: / For he hath wrought throughout the world / His wonders great & strong.
98:5-7 (98:5-6 in <i>WBP</i>)	Shew yourselves joyful unto the Lord, all ye lands: sing, reioyce, and give thanks. Praise the Lord upon the harp: sing to the harp with a psalm of thanksgiving. With trumpets also and shawms: O shew yourselves joyful before the Lord the King.	Be glad in him, with ioyfull voyce, / all people of the earth: / Geue thanks to God, sing and reioyce / to him with ioy and mirth. / Upon the harp vnto him sing, / geue thanks to him with psalmes: / Reioyce before the Lord our king, / with trumpets and with shalmes.
100:1	O be joyful in the Lord, all ye lands: serve the Lord with gladness, and come before his presence with a song.	IN God the Lorde be glad and lyght, / prayse him throughout the yearthe: / Serue him and come before his sight, / with singing and with mirth.

101:1 (<i>WBP</i> has no verse numbers)	My song shall be of mercy and judgement: unto thee, O Lord, will I sing.	I Mercye will and iudgement sing, / O Lorde God vnto thee:
104:12	Beside them shall the fowls of the air have their habitation: and sing among the branches.	By these pleasant springs / or fountaynes full fayre. The foules of the ayre / abide shall and dwell: Who moued by nature / to hoppe here and there, / Among the grene branches / their songs shall excell.
104:33	I will sing unto the Lord as long as I live: I will praise my God while I have my being.	To thys Lorde and God / sing will I alwayes: / So long as I liue, / my God prayse will I
105:1–2 (<i>WBP</i> has no verse numbers)	O give thanks unto the Lord, and call upon his Name: tell the people what things he hath done. O let your songs be of him, and praise him: and let your talking be of all his wondrous works.	GEue prayses vnto God the Lorde, / and call vpon his name: / Among the people eke declare, / his workes, to spred his fame. / Sing ye vnto the Lorde, I say, / and sing vnto him prayse, / And talke of all the wondrous workes, / that he hath wrought alwayes.
106:12 (<i>WBP</i> has no verse numbers)	Then believed they his words: and sang praise unto him.	Then they beleued his wordes, & praise / in song they did him geue.
108:1–3	O God, my heart is ready, my heart is ready: I will sing and give praise with the best member that I have. Awake, thou lute, and harp: I myself will awake right early. I will give thanks unto thee, O Lord, among the people: I will sing praises among the nations.	O God, my harte prepared is, / and eke my tong is so. / I will aduaunce my voyce in song, / and geuyug [giving] prayse also. / Awake my viole and my harpe, / swete melody to make, / And in the morning I my selfe, / right early will awake. / By me among the people, Lorde, / still praysed shalt thou be, / And I among thy Heathen folke, / will sing, O Lorde, to thee.
118:14–15 (<i>WBP</i> has no verse numbers)	The Lord is my strength, and my song: and is become my salvation. The voice of joy & mirth is in the dwellings of the righteous, for the right hand of the Lord hath gotten the victory.	The lorde is my defence and strengthe / my ioy, my mirth and song: / He is become for me in dede, / a sauour most strong. / The right hand of the lord our God, / doth bring to pas great thinges: / He causeth voyce of ioy and health, / in rightous mennes dwellynges.

119:54	Thy statutes have been my songs: in the house of my pilgrimage.	And as for me, I framed my songs, / thy statutes to exalt: / When I among the straungers dweld, / and thoughtes gau me assalt.
119:164	Seven times a day do I praise thee: because of thy righteous judgements.	Seuen times a day I prayse the Lord / singing with hart and voyce: / Thy rightuous actes and wonderfull, / so cause me to reioyse.
119:171–72	My lips shall speak of thy praise: when thou hast taught me thy statutes. / Yea, my tongue shall sing of thy word: for all thy commandments are righteous.	Then all my lippes thy prayses speake, / after most ample sort: / When thou thy statutes hast me taught, / wherin standeth all comfort: / My tong shall sing and preache thy word / and on this wise say shall: / Gods famous actes and noble lawes, / are iust and perfect all.
129:1–2 (129:1 in <i>WBP</i>)	Many a time have they fought against me from my youth up: may Israel now say. / Yea, many a time have they vexed me from my youth up: but they have not prevailed against me.	Of Israell thys may now be the song, / euen from my youth my foes haue oft me noied / A thousand euils since, I was tendre & yonge / Thy haue wrought, yet was I not destroyed.
132:9 (<i>WBP</i> has no verse numbers)	Let thy priests be clothed with righteousness: and let thy saints sing with joyfulness.	Let all thy prestes be clothed Lorde, / with truthe and righteousnes: / Let all thy sayntes and holy men, / sing all with ioyfulness.
132:17 (<i>WBP</i> has no verse numbers)	I will deck her priests with health: and her saints shall reioice and sing.	Yea I will decke, and cloth her pristes, / with my saluation: / And all her saintes shall sing for ioye, / of my protection.
135:1–3	O praise the Lord, laud ye the Name of the Lord: praise it, O ye servants of the Lord; Ye that stand in the house of the Lord: in the courts of the house of our God. O praise the Lord, for the Lord is gracious: O sing praises unto his Name, for it is lovely.	O Praise the lord praise him praise him, / praise him with one accord, / o praise him stil al ye that be / the seruants of the lord, / o praise him ye that stand & be, / in the house of the Lord, / ye of his court and of his house / praise hym with one accord. / Prayse ye the Lord for he is good, / syng prayses to his name: / It is a comly, and good thing, / alwayes to doo the same.

137:1–5	By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept: when we remembered thee, O Sion. As for our harps, we hanged them up: upon the trees that are therein. For they that led us away captive required of us then a song, and melody in our heaviness: Sing us one of the songs of Sion. How shall we sing the Lord's song: in a strange land? If I forget thee, O Jerusalem: let my right hand forget her cunning.	When as we sat in Babylon, / the riuers rounde about: / and in the remembraunce of Sion / the teares for grief bust out. / We hangd our harps & instruments, / the willow trees vpon, / for in that place men for their vse, / had plantd many one. / Then they to whom we prisoners were, / sayde to vs tauntingly: / Now let vs heare your Ebrue songes, / and pleasant melody. / Alas (sayd we) who can once frame, / his sorowfull hart to syng: / The prayses of our louing God, / thus vnder a straunge kyng? But yet if I Ierusalem, / out of my hart let slyde: / Then let my fingers quyte forget, / the warblyng harp to guyde.
138:1 (WBP has no verse numbers)	I will give thanks unto thee, O Lord, with my whole heart: even before the gods will I sing praise unto thee.	Thee will I prayse with my whole hart, / my Lorde my God alwayes: / Euen in the presence of the Gods, / I will aduaunce thy prayse.
138:5 (WBP has no verse numbers)	Yea, they shall sing in the ways of the Lord: that great is the glory of the Lord.	They of the wayes of God the Lord, / in singing shall entreate: / Because the glory of the Lorde, / it is exceding great.
144:9 (WBP has no verse numbers)	I will sing a new song unto thee, O God: and sing praises unto thee upon a ten-stringed lute.	A new song I will sing O God, / and singing will I be, / On viole and on instrument, / ten stringed vnto thee.
145:7 (WBP has no verse numbers)	The memorial of thine abundant kindness shall be shewed: and men shall sing of thy righteousness.	And they into the mention shall, / breake of thy goodnes great: / And I aloud thy righteousnes, / in singing shall repete.
146:1 (146:1–2 in WBP)	Praise the Lord, O my soul; while I live will I praise the Lord: yea, as long as I have any being, I will sing praises unto my God.	My soule prayse thou the Lord alwayes, / My God I will confes: / Whyle death and lyfe prolong my dayes, / my tonge no tyme shall cease.
147:1 (WBP has no verse numbers)	O praise the Lord, for it is a good thing to sing praises unto our God: yea, a joyful and pleasant thing it is to be thankful.	PRaise ye the Lord, for it is good / vnto our God to synge, / For it is pleasante and to prayse, / it is a comely thyng,

147:7 (WBP has no verse numbers)	O sing unto the Lord with thanksgiving: sing praises upon the harp unto our God;	Sing vnto God the Lord with prayse, / vnto the Lord reioyse: / And to our God vpon the harp, / aduaunce your singing voyce.
149:1 (WBP has no verse numbers)	O sing unto the Lord a new song: let the congregation of saints praise him.	SIng ye vnto the Lorde our God, / a new reioysing song: / And let the prayse of him be heard, / his holy saintes among.
149:3 (WBP has no verse numbers)	Let them praise his Name in the dance: let them sing praises unto him with tabret and harp.	Let them sound prayse with voyce of flut / vnto his holy name: / And with the timbrell and the harpe, / sing prayses of the same.
149:5 (WBP has no verse numbers)	Let the saints be joyful with glory: let them reioice in their beds.	With glory and with honor now, / let al the saintes reioyse: / And now aloude vpon their beds, / aduaunce their singing voyce.
150:3–5 (WBP has no verse numbers)	Praise him in the sound of the trumpet: praise him upon the lute and harp. Praise him in the cymbals and dances: praise him upon the strings and pipe. Praise him upon the well-tuned cymbals: praise him upon the loud cymbals.	His prayses with the princely noyse, / of sounding tropet blowe. / Praise him vpon the viole and, / vpon the harp also. / Praise him with timbrell and with flute, / orgaines and virginalles: / With sounding cimbals praise ye him: / praise him with loud cimballs.

1 Ernest Clapton, *Our Prayer Book Psalter: Containing Coverdale's Version from His 1535 Bible and the Prayer Book Version by Coverdale from the Great Bible 1539–41 Printed Side by Side* (London: Society For Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1934). The Coverdale Psalter was prescribed for liturgical use beginning with the 1549 Book of Common Prayer.

NOTES

1 Thomas Cranmer, "To King Henry VIII," in *The Works of Thomas Cranmer: Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer*, ed. John Edmund Cox (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1846), 412.

2 Noted in Robin Leaver, *The Liturgy and Music: A Study of the Use of the Hymn in Two Liturgical Traditions* (Bramcote: Grove Books, 1976), 3–13.

3 For extensive analysis of the "Shorte Introduction into the Science of Musicke" preface that functioned as an introductory music theory treatise, see my "The Whole Booke of Psalmes, Protestant Ideology, and Musical Literacy in Elizabethan England" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 2018), Chapter 4.

4 Beth Quitslund, *The Reformation in Rhyme* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 242; Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 509.

5 Arten, "The Whole Booke of Psalmes, Protestant Ideology, and Musical Literacy in Elizabethan England," Chapter 1.

6 Sources on Luther's theology of music include Theodore Hoelty-Nickel, "Luther and Music," in *Luther and Culture*, ed. George W. Forell, Harold J. Grimm, and Theodore Hoelty-Nickel (Decorah, Iowa: Luther College Press, 1960), 145–211; B. L. Horne, "A Civitas of Sound: On Luther and Music," *Theology* 88 (1985): 21–28; Robin A. Leaver, "Luther on Music," *Lutheran Quarterly* 20, no. 2 (Summer 2006): 125–45; Ulrich S. Leupold, "Luther's Conception of Music in Worship," *Lutheran Church Quarterly* 13 (1940): 66–69; J. Andreas Loewe, "Why Do Lutherans Sing? Lutherans, Music, and the Gospel in the First Century of the Reformation," *Church History* 82/1 (March 2013): 69–89; Paul Nettel, *Luther and Music*, trans. Frida Best and Ralph Wood (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1948; repr. New York: Russel & Russel, 1967); and Carl F. Schalk, *Luther on Music: Paradigms of Praise* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1988). For a starting place on Calvin's theology of music, see Charles Garside, Jr., "The Origins of Calvin's Theology of Music: 1536–1543," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 69/4 (1979): 5–36; W. David O. Taylor, "John Calvin and Musical Instruments: A Critical Investigation," *Calvin Theological Journal* 48/2 (November 2013): 248–69; Jeffrey VanderWilt, "John Calvin's Theology of Liturgical Song," *Christian Scholar's Review* 25/1 (1995): 63–82; and John D. Witvliet, "The Spirituality of the Psalter in Calvin's Geneva," in *Worship Seeking Understanding*:

Windows into Christian Practice (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2003), 203–229.

7 Peter le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978 [1967]); Edmund H. Fellowes, *English Cathedral Music*, rev. ed. by J. A. Westrup (London: Methuen, 1969 [1941]); Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

8 John Stevens, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961), Chapter 5. For analysis of theological arguments against polyphony, see Rob C. Wegman, *The Crisis of Music in Early Modern Europe, 1470–1530* (London: Routledge, 2005), Chapter 4.

9 Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England*, Vol. 1: *From Cranmer to Hooker, 1534–1603* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1970); Robin A. Leaver, "Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songes": *English and Dutch Metrical Psalms from Coverdale to Utenhove, 1535–1566* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); Jonathan Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England: Discourses, Sites and Identities* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), Chapter 2.

10 For this research on the 1562 WBP (STC 2430), I worked with the British Library's book-copy (shelfmark C.25.g.3), viewed in person and via Early English Books Online, with additional consultation of Harvard University's book-copy (shelfmark HOU GEN STC 2430). While the WBP was the product of a long process of expansion, compilation, and editing as the psalm collection evolved in several significant stages from its origin as courtly poetry in Thomas Sternhold's *Certayne psalmes* (1548 or 1549), this current research is concerned not with the complex process of compiling the WBP but with the final, unified form of the WBP as it was presented to readers.

11 John Wesley, *The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.*, ed. John Telford, Vol. 3 (London: Epworth Press, 1931), 227.

12 Quitslund, *The Reformation in Rhyme*, 21–22; Rivkah Zim, *English Metrical Psalms: Poetry as Praise and Prayer, 1535–1601* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 119–20.

13 Hamlin suggests that this is a return to Sternhold's original goals for his published courtly poetry (devout recreation for the godly), rather than (or perhaps in addition to) the Protestant reformers' intent for all the laity to become involved in church services: *Psalm Culture and Early Modern English*

Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 27.

14 Michael Saenger, *The Commodification of Textual Engagements in the English Renaissance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 38–54, and particularly 47–49.

15 For “parish Anglicans,” Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); for “prayer book Protestants,” Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); for “the hotter sort,” Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967); for “church papists,” Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1993).

16 Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 71–73.

17 Poor general literacy rates in sixteenth-century England did not necessarily limit the WBP’s audience. Reading aloud was still a common practice throughout the sixteenth century. In Elizabethan England, members of the lower class were almost certainly reading aloud, and even the gentry, who commonly had the ability to read silently, often chose to read aloud as a form of sociable entertainment. For further discussion of communal reading of the WBP, see Arten, “*The Whole Booke of Psalmes*, Protestant Ideology, and Musical Literacy in Elizabethan England,” 132–37. On the development of silent reading, see Paul Saenger, “Silent Reading: Its Impact on Late Medieval Script and Society,” *Viator* 13 (1982): 367–414; and idem, *Space between Words: The Origin of Silent Reading* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997); and on sociable reading aloud, see Roger Chartier, “Leisure and Sociability: Reading Aloud in Early Modern Europe,” in *Urban Life in the Renaissance*, ed. Susan Zimmerman and Ronald F. E. Weissman (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1989), 103–20.

18 Archbishop Matthew Parker’s *Whole Psalter translated into English Metre* (John Day, 1567) was printed but not published, in the sense that it was never sold publicly but printed for private use within Parker’s circle. The Parker *Psalter* does represent official church sponsorship of metrical psalmody, but its message was not presented to a broad audience, and it certainly lacked the reach of the WBP.

19 Sixth: The Crede of Athanasius (Quicunque vult) and Psalm 136.

Seventh: The songe of the thre Children, The humble sute of the Sinner, The x Commaundements (of the opening hymns), and Psalms 14, 35, 69, 95, and 147.

Ninth: Veni creator, The Lordes prayer (of the opening hymns), Psalms 1, 41, 59, 68, 77, 78, 81, 104, 119, 121, 124, 130, 137, 145, 148, and The xii Articles of the christian faythe.

Tenth: Te deum, Nunc dimittis, Psalms 88 and 112, and The Lords Prayer (of the closing hymns).

20 Only thirteen of these 65 melodies start on a different pitch than the tonic. Fifth above: Psalms 6, 30, 51, 112, 125, 126, 130, The Lords Prayer (of the closing hymns), and The xii Articles of the christian faythe. Fifth below: The Lordes prayer (of the opening hymns), Psalm 21. Whole step above: Magnificat. Third below: Psalm 41.

21 Psalm 47 and The complaint of a Sinner end on the sharp third.

22 Tunes containing B-flat: Psalms 51, 112, 119, 126, 147; The Lord’s Prayer (closing canticles). Tunes containing E-flat: Psalm 130.

Tunes containing F-sharp: Psalms 141, 145, 147; The complaint of a Sinner.

Tunes containing C-sharp: The Lamentation.

23 Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 412–15; Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 34, 58.

24 In reference to the Anglo-Genevan Psalter (1556), from which many of the WBP’s tunes were drawn, Timothy Duguid argues that seeming problems in metrical accentuation in the psalm texts can be explained by their musical settings. Misplaced textual accents are mediated by the chosen melodies. According to Duguid, the text setting in the Anglo-Genevan Psalter is calculated for clarity and understanding on the part of the listener. He finds these tunes’ rhythmic text setting more effective than I do: *Metrical Psalmody in Print and Practice: English ‘Singing Psalms’ and Scottish ‘Psalm Buiks,’ c. 1547–1640* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 29–33.

25 Psalm 144[:9], Psalm 149[:1]. I have added verse numbers in editorial brackets throughout to clarify discussion of particular passages for which verse numbers are not printed in the WBP.

26 Psalm 129:1.

27 See Arten, “*The Whole Booke of Psalmes*, Protestant Ideology, and Musical Literacy in Elizabethan England,” 28–35 for discussion of the WBP’s claim to Protestant authority over and against Roman Catholicism, drawing upon Kenneth Parker’s work on metanarratives of history: Kenneth L. Parker, “The Rise of Historical Consciousness among the

Christian Churches: An Introduction,” in *The Rise of Historical Consciousness among the Christian Churches*, ed. Kenneth L. Parker and Erick H. Moser (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2013), 1–16; idem, “Re-Visioning the Past and Re-Sourcing the Future: The Unresolved Historiographical Struggle in Roman Catholic Scholarship and Authoritative Teaching,” in *The Church on Its Past*, ed. Peter D. Clarke and Charlotte Methuen (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press for the Ecclesiastical History Society, 2013), 389–416. In the creation of his taxonomy (successionist, supercessionist, developmental, and apperceptive metanarratives), Parker drew upon Anthony Kemp, *The Estrangement of the Past: A Study in the Origins of Modern Historical Consciousness* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); to further explore the supercessionist shift in historical consciousness that occurred at the time of the Reformation, see Kemp, Chapter 3.

28 Johannes Tinctoris, *Dictionary of Musical Terms*, trans. Carl Parrish (London: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), 36–37, 76–77.

29 John Merbecke, *A Booke of Notes and Common places* (London: Thomas East, 1581), [1017–18] (misnumbered in the original as 1015–16).

30 One of Martin Luther’s strongest arguments in favor of music considered hymns a means of disseminating theology; many of Luther’s own compositions were catechetical hymns.

31 The Geneva Psalter too contained liturgical canticles—including, in some editions, the nonscriptural Creed—despite John Calvin’s stated desire to employ only scriptural texts for liturgical song, with preference for the psalms.

32 See Arten, “*The Whole Booke of Psalmes*, Protestant Ideology, and Musical Literacy in Elizabethan England,” 35–37 for discussion of the WBP’s claim to monarchical authorization.

33 Sig. +.ii.r.

34 Duguid, *Metrical Psalmody in Print and Practice*, Chapter 7; Hamlin, *Psalm Culture and Early Modern English Literature*, 29–41; Marsh, *Music and Society*, Chapter 8; Nicholas Temperley, “All skillful praises sing’: How Congregations Sang the Psalms in Early Modern England,” *Renaissance Studies* 29/4 (2015): 531–53; idem, “‘If any of you be mery let hym synge psalmes’: The Culture of Psalms in Church and Home,” in “*Noyses, sounds, and sweet aires*”: *Music in Early Modern England*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens (Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library, 2006), 90–99. Beth Quitslund examines the recreational and devotional function of psalm singing in general (not just the WBP’s psalms): “Singing the Psalms for Fun and Profit,” in *Private and*

Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain, ed. Jessica Martin and Alec Ryrie (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 237–58.

35 Joseph Herl, for example, has written of pre-Reformation congregational singing in Germany; though evidence is scant and the extent of the congregational singing remains unknown, it is clear that lay hymnody did exist prior to Luther; *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism: Choir, Congregation, and Three Centuries of Conflict* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 28.

36 The classic text is Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400–c. 1580*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

37 Gerald Strauss, *Luther’s House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 116–31.

38 Alexandra Walsham, “Holy Families: The Spiritualization of the Early Modern Household Revisited,” in *Religion and the Household*, ed. John Doran, Charlotte Methuen, and Alexandra Walsham (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2014), 122–60; Kenneth Charlton, “‘Not publike onely but also private and domesticall’: Mothers and Familial Education in Pre-industrial England,” *History of Education* 17 (1988): 1–20; idem, “Mothers as Educative Agents in Pre-industrial England,” *History of Education* 23 (1994): 129–56.

39 Walsham, “Holy Families,” 128–29 (though she seems to conflate the WBP and Day’s 1563 *Whole Psalmes in Foure Parties*); Quitslund, *The Reformation in Rhyme*, 249–50; Jonathan Willis, “‘By These Means the Sacred Discourses Sink More Deeply into the Minds of Men’: Music and Education in Elizabethan England,” *History* 94 (July 2009): 303–04.

40 There is often a logic behind the WBP’s removals of musical references. For example, in Psalm 69:13–14 (69:12 in Coverdale), where the Coverdale Psalter described the music of the critics of God’s people (“They that sit in the gate speak against me: and the drunkards make songs upon me.”), the WBP transforms these drunken songs into mere speech: “Both hie and lowe, and all the throng, / that sit within the gate: / They haue me euer in theyr tong, / of me they talke and prate.” In the WBP’s narrative world, music—or indeed, any worship at all—is only possibly for God’s people or for the converted, as in Psalm 22:27, which describes conversion: “The Heathen folke shall worship hym.” Those who act in opposition to God can speak but not sing. This is true even for the Israelites when they turn against God, as described in Psalm 78.

41 This increased musical self-referentiality can also be found in Robert Crowley's *Psalter of David* (1549), which contained metrical (versified) versions of all 150 psalms and seems to have been intended for liturgical use. Like the *WBP*, its psalms were also intended as songs. The Crowley Psalter contained "a note of four partes": a single musical setting (a harmonization in four parts of the seventh psalm tone, found in the tenor voice) to be used for all psalm texts. Both the *WBP* and the Crowley Psalter amplified the Psalms' self-description as texts intended to be sung. For further discussion of the relationship between and musical references found in the *WBP*, the Coverdale Psalter, and the Crowley Psalter, see Arten, "The Whole Booke of Psalmes, Protestant Ideology, and Musical Literacy in Elizabethan England," 55–66, 77–82.

42 "Sweetness," of course, is not a uniquely Protestant virtue. For example, the epistle dedicatory of William Byrd's 1605 *Gradualia* (a thoroughly Catholic set of polyphonic mass propers) speaks of the "sweetness" of sacred words.

43 John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. John T. McNeill, trans. Ford Lewis Battles (Philadelphia: Westminster Press and London: S.C.M. Press, 1960; repr., Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press), 894.

44 Herl, *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism*, 108–10; Horne, "A Civitas of Sound," 25–26; Robin A. Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2007), 91–92.

45 The most focused and extensive discussion of Calvin's views on instruments can be found in Taylor, "John Calvin and Musical Instruments." Broader discussion of Calvinist belief and practice regarding the organ can be found in Randall D. Engle, "A Devil's Siren or an Angel's Throat? The Pipe Organ Controversy among the Calvinists," in *John Calvin, Myth and Reality: Images and Impact of Geneva's Reformer*, ed. Amy Nelson Burnett (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2011), 107–25.

46 For discussion of Zwingli's rejection of music in worship, see Charles Garside, Jr., *Zwingli and the Arts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), 43–75.

47 Duguid, *Metrical Psalmody in Print and Practice*, 190–92; William P. Haugaard, *Elizabeth and the English Reformation: The Struggle for a Stable Settlement of Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 166–82; Marsh, *Music and Society*, 394–405; Quitslund, *The Reformation in Rhyme*, 260–62; John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion*, Vol. 1,

Part 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1824), 475, 500; Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, 100–101, 114–16, 140–45; idem, "Protestant Worship and the Discourse of Music in Reformation England," in *Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain*, ed. Natalie Mears and Alec Ryrie (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 131–32.

48 Joachim Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine: Archeological, Written, and Comparative Sources*, trans. Douglas W. Stott (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2002), 37–42; Jeremy Montagu, *Musical Instruments of the Bible* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2002), 83.

49 Linda Phyllis Austern, "'Sing Again Syren': The Female Musician and Sexual Enchantment in Elizabethan Life and Literature," *Renaissance Quarterly* 42/ 3 (Autumn 1989): 429–30; Suzanne Lord, *Music from the Age of Shakespeare: A Cultural History* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003), 120–21; David C. Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 42, 45; Walter L. Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), 224.

50 The first complete edition of the Geneva Bible printed in England (STC 2117): *The Bible and holy scriptures contained in the Olde and Nevve Testament* (London: Christopher Barker, 1576), fol. 250v.

51 Montagu, *Musical Instruments of the Bible*, 82–83.

52 Nicholas Temperley, "Organ Settings of English Psalm Tunes," *Musical Times* 122, No. 1656 (Feb. 1981): 123–24. Christopher Marsh's guess that organs "probably filled this function" remains but a compelling hypothesis until further evidence is discovered: *Music and Society*, 422.

53 Willis, "Protestant Worship and the Discourse of Music," 133–34, and passim. Willis cites especially the "Homily on the Place and Time of Prayer" from the second Book of Homilies (1562), which inveighs against "[p]iping, singing, chanting, and playing upon the organs" as elements of popish religion "which displeased God so sore, and filthily defiled his holy house and his place of prayer": *ibid.*, 133.

54 See Kirsten Gibson, "Author, Musician, Composer: Creator? Figuring Musical Creativity in Print at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century," in *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. Rebecca Herissone and Alan Howard (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2013), 63–86.